3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON MEI
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S L 496

into Jordan. There is a branch line from Deraa to Suwaida, but another branch, to Haifa, is out of use.

*Damas-Hama et Prolongements.* (*a*) From Beirut to Damascus there is a narrow-gauge track running for 91 miles via Rayaq; rack and pinion are used to traverse the mountains, and this slow haul is now employed for freight only. (*b*) From Rayaq to Aleppo there is a 4 ft 8 in. gauge track for 270 miles which passes through Homs and Hama. (*c*) The stretch of the Cairo–Turkey line from Ras an-Naqura on the Lebano–Israel border to Beirut is out of commission but the section of 64 miles in standard gauge from Beirut to Tripoli and Homs is used.

*Syrian state Railways.* This is the part (164 miles) of the Turkey–Mosul line that runs inside Syrian territory.

S L 491

*Roads*

Main arterial roads in Lebanon are considered adequate, but the network of secondary and feeder roads is poor. In Syria the road system is generally inadequate, and only the asphalted roads are usable for heavy traffic throughout the year. The following figures give some indication of the position:

| Syria, 1951 | Miles | Lebanon, 1949 | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st class, asphalted | 2,917 | Surfaced | 1,811 |
| 2nd class, macadamized | 1,268 | Unimproved | 414 |
| Tracks | 5,218 | | |

(Sources: *Statesman's Year-Book, 1953*; US Dept. of Commerce.)

S 494

There are over 11,000 vehicles registered in Syria. Trans-desert passenger and goods services to Iraq are in regular use and goods are also moved, including refrigerated vegetables, to Kuwait and Dahran. The authorities are restricting the registration of new lorries to the estimated needs of the countries, but more vehicles are required, particularly diesel lorries for long hauls of heavy loads.

S L 509

*Aerodromes.* The new airport of Beirut (Khaldeh) receives the Comet, and is beginning to rival Cairo as a gateway to the East, and that of Damascus (Mezzeh) has long been in use by Constellations. Many international airlines stage at Khaldeh or Mezzeh; the approach to Khaldeh is better and, with between twenty and thirty aircraft a day, it has since 1951 outstripped Mezzeh, which has five to ten aircraft a day. For some years plans have been under consideration for moving the Damascus airport to the east of the city. There are two private Lebanese airlines. A national airline in Syria was a financial failure and was taken over by the army. Smaller airfields exist near Tripoli,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



132 (Fisher, 1950, p. 50). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 42). In al-Qurni, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

133 312 Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 374). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 4000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very steep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age man and latter-day troglodites), a large natural bridge, and at least one horrendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what bottomland there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is al-Qurni. 491 [497] This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities pass through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1920, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Ba'shita to Gharzuuz is paved, and has been

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



in existence about fifteen years. The road from Shaykhan through Munṣif to Ḥilwi has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mar Jurjis and Ḥilwi is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Burbara is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 2) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the southwestern pueblo in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, *saḥa*, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Tannous, 1944, p. 528). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely centers. The new roads in al-Qurnı are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Munṣif follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it.

We have already seen that al-Qurnı has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thoumin, 1936, p. 129) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described:

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cretaceous) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cretaceous sands, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestone lower still. A fault at Tartij [East of al-Qurnı] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable layer, so that there is a *chance* that very deep wells sunk at el Munṣif might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found round Jounieh and Maameltein [South of Jbayl] the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Tartij) with the main anticline of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a point N. of Jounieh from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-marl outcrops. (W. B. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 13, 1952.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ḥilwi there *are* two springs. Both, however, are small, and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



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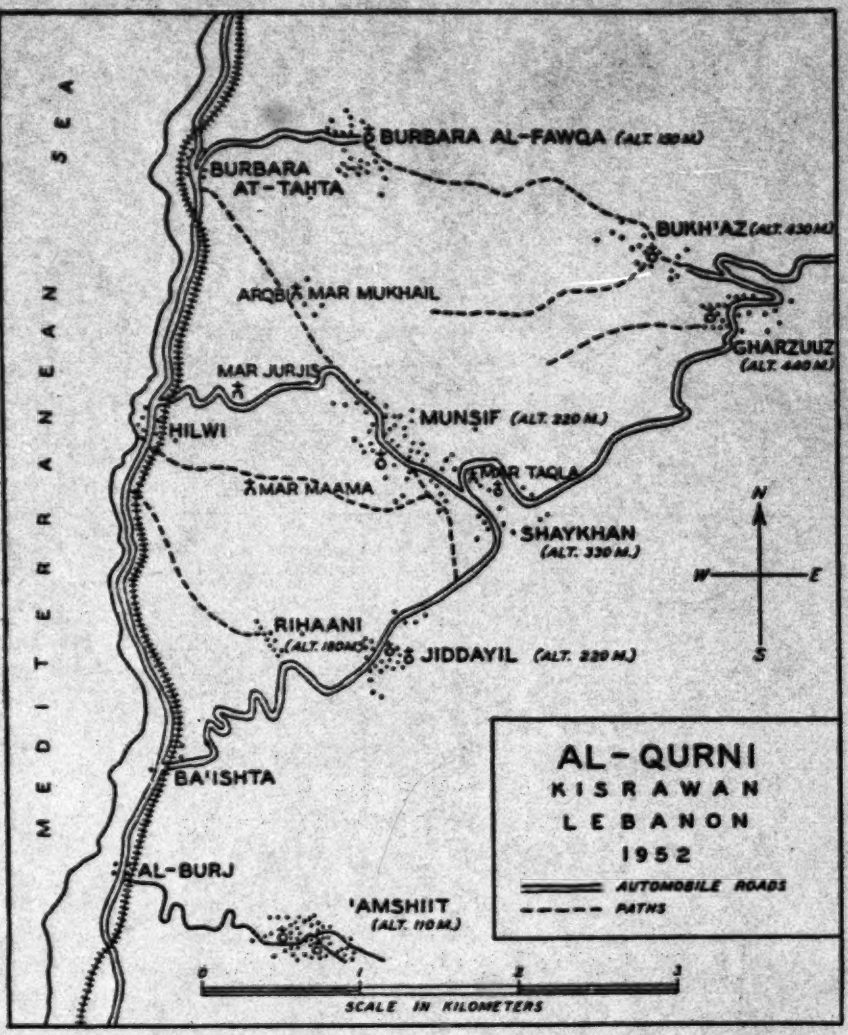


FIG. 2. AL-QURNI

312 only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

137 The sparse natural flora of al-Qurni is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



Munṣif is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jiddayil which is the second in size.

*Al-Qurnī is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one.* Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phoneme *aa* is pronounced slightly differently in Burbara, Munṣif, and Jiddayil; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurnī is a unit. Why? It is not because of sheer proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jiddayil, al-Qurnī is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kisrawan had a resident population of 41,004, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,395 were Maronites, 2,659 were Mitwaali (Shii'a Muslims), and 1,010 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Himadeh, 1936, pp. 410–11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurnī.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

## FROM BEIRUT TO MUNṢIF

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Munṣif itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Munṣif by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEl Lebanon MEl

*Physical Description of Area.*

361 132 134 941 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 491 487 494 The major markets for the products of the five villagrs are Beirut and Saida. All of the project and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads except for Loubya and Saksakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dei'ah more than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

*Village Government.*

622 623 471 556 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also elected to office and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area: whether he has such aspirations is not known.

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T U R K
HATAY
A L E P P O
E U P H
HAMA
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JEBEL DRUZE
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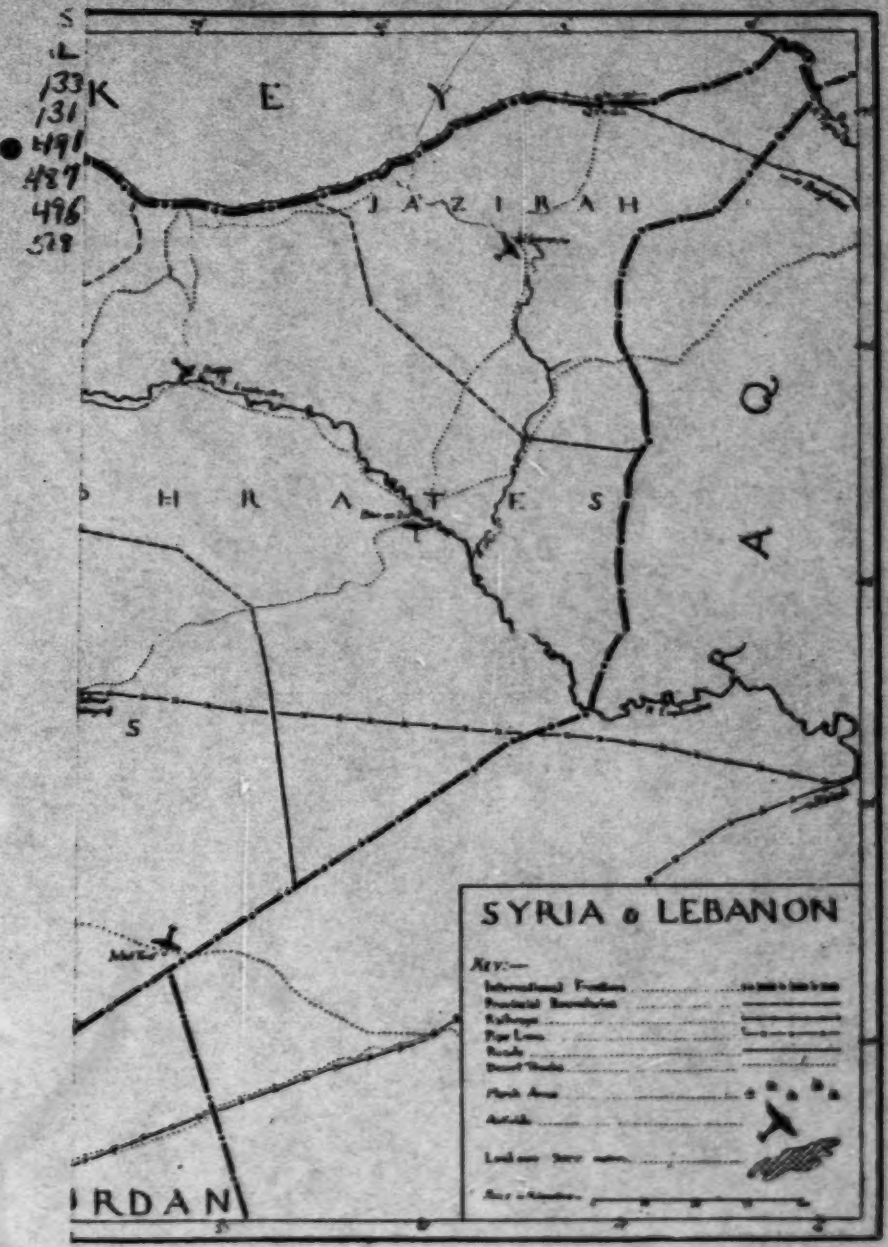
END MAP (A)




ENO MAP (B)

# CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

*John Gulick*

THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semicircular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munaif.

Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists [illegible] that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor crests and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

But the challenge does not end with land features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied to the term is impossible under present circumstances.

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ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years.

The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

p. 112(5)

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

### Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Bread, and a coarse-grained cereal known as burghul, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

p. 493(A)